DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 118 484	SO 008 88
TITLE	Child Development and the Housing Environment. Volume 3: Literature Review.
INSTITUTION	Urban Systems Research and Engineering, Inc., Cambridge, Mass.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Aug 72
NOTE	75p.; For related documents, see SO 008 879-880
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS	Anthropology; Disadvantaged Environment; *Environmental Influences; *Literature Reviews; *Low Rent Housing; Public Housing; Research Reviews (Publications); Slum Environment; Social Environment; Social Science Research; *Socioeconomic Influences; Sociology; Urban Renewal

ABSTRACT

As the final part of a three-volume study, this review focuses on housing as an instrument of environmental change with particular emphasis on socioeconomic rather than physical dimensions. Three literature orientations relating to the effectiveness of intervention in the lives of the poor are used for review. They are (1) literature that is planning-oriented and concerned with the impact of urban renewal and redevelopment on central city communities, (2) literature that analyzes the low-income public housing programs in the United States by concentrating on the social goals, and (3) sociological and anthropological research literature concerning Oscar Lewis' "culture of poverty" concept. The impact of the housing environemnt is analyzed along several dimensions: child and family health, intellectual and achievement state in both child and parent, family interaction patterns, neighborhood and organizational participation, and juvenile delinquency. Each dimension is treated in a separate chapter. In addition, chapter 1 places specific aspects of environmental change in a broader cultural context of poverty, and the conculsion summarizes the findings of the chapters both individually and together. (Author/ND)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

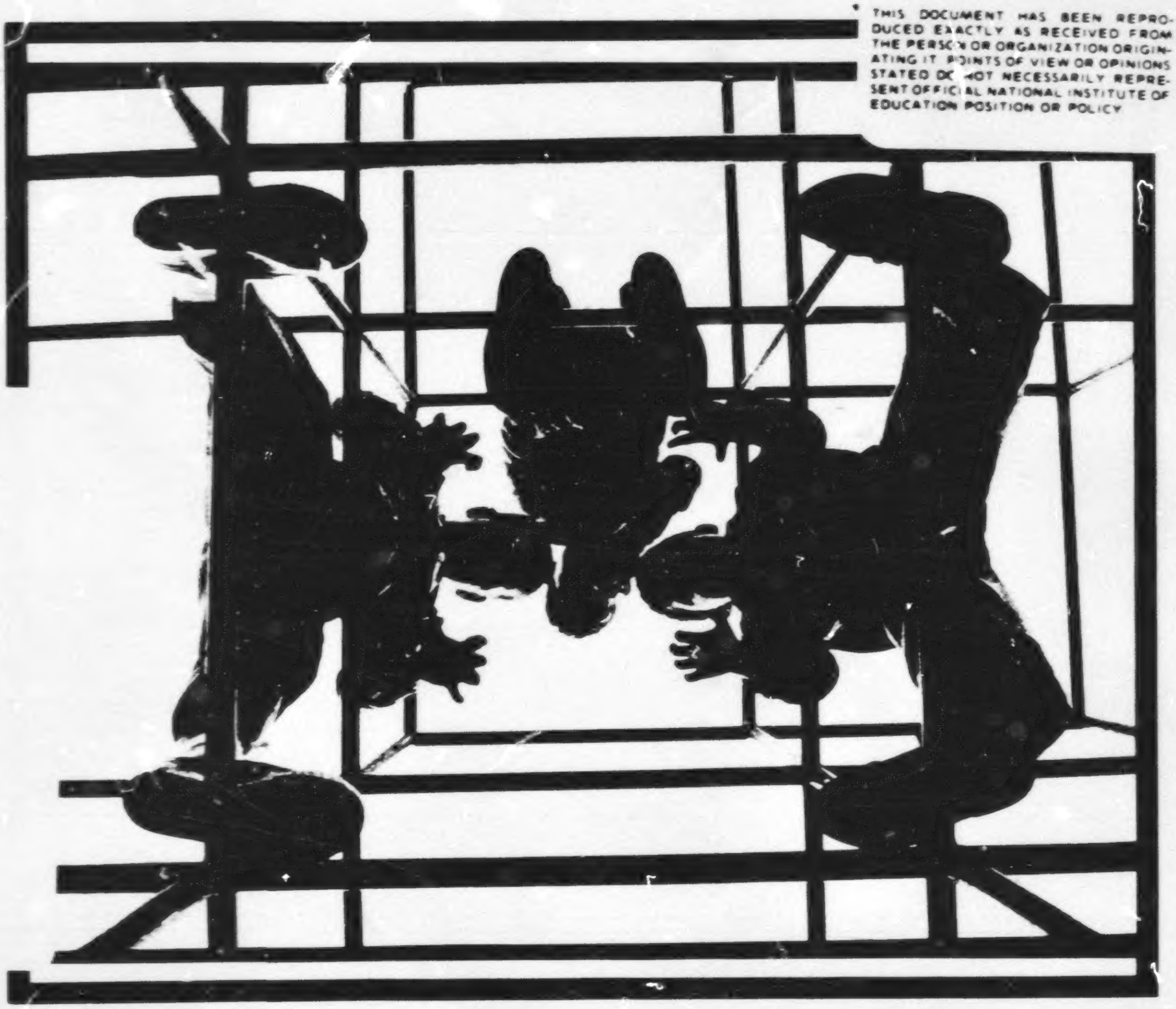
ED118484

50008881

CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND THE HOUSING ENVIRONMENT

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY



VOLUME 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

Urban Systems Research & Engineering, Inc.
1218 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND THE HOUSING ENVIRONMENT

Volume 3. Literature Review

August 1972

Prepared for
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Prepared by
Urban Systems Research & Engineering, Inc.
1218 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER ONE: Theoretical and Historical Overview 3

CHAPTER TWO: Health Effects 17

CHAPTER THREE: Children's Intellectual and Achievement Performance 24

CHAPTER FOUR: Feelings, Aspirations, Affective State 33

CHAPTER FIVE: Child-Rearing Practices 39

CHAPTER SIX: Formal and Informal Groups 47

CHAPTER SEVEN: Juvenile Delinquency Research 59

CONCLUSIONS 68

INTRODUCTION

There is an extensive literature concerning the impact of housing and neighborhood environments on the lives of the poor and the disadvantaged. This review focuses upon housing as an instrument of environmental change with particular emphasis on socio-economic rather than physical dimensions.

The impact of the housing environment is analyzed here along six dimensions: child and family health, intellectual and achievement state in both child and parent, family interaction patterns, neighborhood and organizational participation, and juvenile delinquency. These separate aspects are treated in successive chapters of this review. Additionally, Chapter One places specific aspects of environmental change in the broader cultural context of poverty, and the conclusion summarizes the findings of the intervening chapters both individually and together.

Three distinct orientations are utilized in this review, although all relate to the effectiveness of intervention in the lives of the poor. The first is "planning-oriented" literature, which is largely concerned with the impact of urban renewal and redevelopment on central city communities. These studies are concerned with the consequences of forced relocation of residents, and they provide valuable information regarding the functional and social "meaning" of such communities to their residents.

A similar orientation analyzes the low-income public housing program in the United States. These authors too concentrate on evaluation of the effectiveness of this program in achieving a variety of social goals--goals whose desirability might not seem open to question, such as improved health, reduced juvenile delinquency rates, and so on. Even so, evaluators have had to consider the cultural context of residents in these programs, and again have arrived at varying conclusions regarding the cultural distinctiveness of residents and the sources of conflicts and problems within the program.

A third orientation is more conceptual in nature, but has come to have a great deal of policy relevance during the past few years of the "war on poverty" era. This is the sociological and anthropological literature of theory and empirical and ethnographic research surrounding the controversial "culture of poverty" concept, most thoroughly elaborated by Oscar Lewis. This, together with the work on juvenile delinquency, attempts to grapple directly with the complicated issues surrounding the life-style of ethnic and class-based subgroups on the periphery of the Americal social system. This work is of fundamental importance in setting the context for interpreting the empirical studies reviewed.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

A great deal has been written about the poor in America in an effort to understand the pattern of their lives. The present literature review deals explicitly with the effects of federal housing programs on the lives of this group. Too often, however, the particular biases of the investigator's conceptual orientation go unexamined. It is therefore important that the present literature survey of evaluation studies begins with an express attempt to examine some of the larger conceptual issues surrounding poverty in America. In this way, a general context will be established in which to view the broader implications that follow.

Major issues have arisen in debates regarding Oscar Lewis' (1959, 1968) construct of a "culture of poverty." His work represents an initial attempt to apply the ethnographic field work methods of anthropology to the under-classes of complex societies. Lewis (1955) suggests a list of traits which comprise some aspects of the "culture of poverty." Some of these are best thought of as correlates of poverty, such as lack of education, crowded living quarters, and deteriorated housing. Others are more reasonably understood as behavioral patterns and relationships, such as the frequency of female-centered households, lack of broader community organizations beyond the family, and so on. A third set of poverty traits consists of values and attitudes, including negative group feelings and low self-esteem and aspirations. Lewis' primary emphasis is that these various traits represent adaptations of lower-class people to their marginal economic status. Thus, the very poor are seen as forming a distinct subculture, which is transmitted inter-generationally through "absorption of the basic values and attitudes of the subculture by the children" (Lewis, 1968). It is particularly this last proposition, together with the strong emphasis on distinct subcultural values, which many have questioned (Valentine, 1968).

A stress on the persistent subcultural "pathology" of the poor tends to imply their responsibility for their own condition, and therefore efforts to remedy the problems of the poor must be addressed primarily to altering "deviant" subcultural norms and values. Many theorists view such an outlook as ignoring the particular role the poor play in the larger society, and as minimizing the necessity for change in behavior and value patterns within the majority culture which supports the existence of such subgroups (e.g., Gans, 1968). Lewis has recently attempted to specify characteristics of the broader social structures which support "cultures of poverty," in constrast to social systems where such "cultures" do not develop even though objective conditions of poverty are as severe. Thus, he suggests that "cultures of poverty" tend to develop in early free-enterprise stages of capitalism and colonialism and are less prevalent in socialist states. Presumably therefore, certain broad social and economic forces in the society at large are associated with the development of a "culture of poverty." The emphasis of the concept remains on the inter-generational transmission of the culture, once it has developed, however. While a great deal of statistical evidence supports the theory that there are various cultural "forms" associated with poverty (e.g., the fatherless child-rearing family, Moynihan, 1967), we have little evidence that such forms as father-absence are transmitted inter-generationally (Kriesberg, 1970). Rather, to many, these characteristics seem to be reasonable and flexible situational adaptations on the part of the poor to present circumstances. There appears little doubt that the very poor live differently than the middle-class. The issue here is how much of this reflects differences in values and aspirations.

Older sociological investigations of the slum and the black lower-class, particularly the works of Wirth (1964) and Frazier (1939), describe urbanization as a destructive process and see the city as promoting isolation and alienation and often destroying cultural traditions. Such views, though frequently taken out of context, lent weight to the convictions of early social reformers concentrating on the deleterious social effects of the slum physical environment (Schorr, 1963). Slums were seen as disorganized "jungles" in which crime and immorality were rampant, and the elimination of substandard conditions through such programs as urban renewal was hardly conceptualized as having any cost for the slum dweller (Feagin, 1966). It was simply assumed that slums consisted of disorganized groups of individuals with nothing to lose in neighborhood dissolution.

Lewis' view of the poor as having unique cultural institutions does contribute to the notion that these people were not afflicted with a simple "lack" of culture, although his discussion at times verges on such a notion (Lewis, 1968). Views of the urban lower- class since Frazier have undergone considerable revision. Whyte (1943), in a classic study of "street-corner society," emphasized the importance of the male peer-group as an organizing principle in working- and lower-class culture. Miller (1959), in a paper concerned with the aetiology of delinquency, went perhaps to the limit emphasizing a distinct subculture of the working and lower-classes and stressing the values and "focal concerns" of "action-seeking," male dominance and "toughness," trouble-avoidance, fate or luck and so on in these groups. These cultural norms and patterns are presented as quite distinct from those of the middle-class. In a contrasting interpretation, Valentine (1968) points out that many of these "focal concerns" appear quite applicable to middle-class society as well, although the modes of their expression and resolution may differ.

It remained for Gans (1962) and others (e.g., Ryan, 1963; Fried and Gleicher, 1961) to focus on the organization present in the slum neighborhood. The West End of Boston, an Italian neighborhood cleared away by urban renewal in the late 1950's, provided the setting for Gans' participant-observer study of the local culture just prior to the neighborhood's demise. The extent of family and social ties in the area and the diversity of well-integrated life-styles are amply documented in Gans' book. He describes a peer-group oriented society, in which the child is quickly led to develop his strongest and most meaningful ties with same-sex siblings and friends. The family is adult- and not child-centered, in contrast to much of modern middle-class society. There is an attempt to develop a polar typology of life-styles--"action-seekers" vs. "routine-seekers," ("routine-seeking" being more typical of the stable working class and "action-seeking" typical of people such as those in Miller's discussion of lower-class life-style mentioned previously). Gans' typology of life-styles is echoed in the recent work of Hannerz concerning a black ghetto in Washington, D.C. (Hannerz, 1969). Here also these life-styles are viewed as co-existing in ghetto neighborhoods. Gans and Hannerz note that adolescents and young married couples are more likely to be "action-seekers," while older individuals may or may not settle into a more stable "routine-seeking" orientation.

These typologies of the slum dweller imply a variety and complexity of social organization in so-called "blighted" areas. The associated literature on the effects of West End residents' dislocation amply documents the extent of social and psychological ties to neighborhood, (Fried, 1963; Ryan, 1963). A recent thesis by Feagin (1966) also arrives at similar conclusions regarding the extent of social ties in a black Boston ghetto prior to voluntary relocation into a housing program. Studies of public housing projects and slums in Puerto Rico (e.g., Hollingshead, Rogler, 1963) also stress the extent of working class social networks disturbed by housing programs and policy. Additional information on the presence and importance of ethnic institutions in the lives of slum dwellers is found in the work of Suttles (1968) in a multi-ethnic Chicago area.

Recent literature demonstrates that the lives of the lower-class, and particularly the ethnic minorities in American society, are at least being discussed in a manner which recognizes their subcultural structural complexity as more than a simple lack of middle-class norms. From the spate of typological models, it is clear that the poor are a diverse and heterogeneous group not suitably described by any sweeping generalities. This recognition increases both the complexity of and the urgency for developing more meaningful models of poverty situations. The question raised earlier in connection with Lewis' work remains--to what extent should we view the poor and the ethnic minorities as different in values and attitudes from the mainstream culture? We have seen that Miller (1959) stresses this difference. The theoretical approach of Merton (1957) however, as applied to the problem of juvenile delinquency, is quite in opposition to this view, and points instead to a commonality of values and aspirations among the classes, but limited access to legitimate means for achieving these values among the lower-class. Merton also theorizes that the stress on "legitimate" means, as values in themselves, must necessarily be much less in areas where delinquency is high. Nevertheless, the thrust of this analysis is that values such as the "stigmatization of manual labor" and the importance of individual "power" and "status" are as much a part of lower- as of middle-class culture (Merton, 1957). Delinquency is viewed as the result of maintaining shared aspirations in a social structure which does not provide opportunities for their legitimate attainment. The implication of this analysis is that at the level of aspirations, at least, the poor share very deeply in the broader culture. Gans (1968) makes a similar point, although he does distinguish middle- and working-class value orientations, and suggests that the poor may aspire to either of these life-styles.

The obvious divergence between the aspirations and values of the dominant culture and the life-styles which characterize those in poverty, implies that the poor would live under unbearable evaluative tensions, if they did not develop a means of coping with this incongruity. Such reasoning (regarding attitudes toward consensual marriages among the poor in the Carribean) suggested the concept of "lower-class value stretch" to Rodman (1968). This concept has been considerably explored and expanded by Rainwater (1969). Both authors see the poor as forced to manage a much broader variety of norms and aspirations than the dominant culture, with a probable consequence that they come to hold any particular one of these values less intensively. Through exposure to the broader culture the poor develop allegiance to many of its dominant values, but because of the limited relevance and accessibility of these norms and values within their own life situation, they also develop allegiance to various alternative norms and values.

The foregoing discussion suggests caution in interpreting observed differences between social classes. A review by Hess (1970) indicates that differences in aspirations among classes are quite inconsistent, although some related variables, such as perception of "personal control over own destiny" do show rather stable social-class differences. It is necessary to view values, norms, and aspirations as complexly determined both by partial integration into the dominant culture, and also as an adaptation to the objective conditions of life.

In the same vein, a paper by Valentine (1971) dealing specifically with black ghetto culture suggests the logical extention of these views into a concept of "biculturation." In addition to addressing the viewpoints on aspirational and normative aspects of culture, the model also is designed to encompass the important research of linguists and anthropologists who have recently been exploring black language patterns. Recent theoretical advance in the conceptual understanding of linguistic structure (based on the work of Chomsky, 1965, and others) has challenged the long established tradition of lower-class "linguistic poverty," and has demonstrated the integrity and adequacy of Negro Nonstandard English (NNE), to use Labov's term (1970), as a subcultural dialect. In this light, the earlier assertations of the inadequacy of such dialects as vehicles for cognitive thought and expression (e.g., Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966) appear dangerously value-laden and biased by ethno centrism. Another cultural form drew similar attention in the Coleman Report (1966), which found that father-absence was not an important predictor variable in children's test achievement. Interpretation of the effects of isolated cultural components must be made with extreme caution.

The model of "biculturalism" proposed by Valentine (1971) suggests that black Americans share certain values and aspirations of the majority culture, and yet also participate in a behaviorally distinct subculture with many of its own normative institutions. Valentine stresses that all individuals in an ethnic subculture participate in two conceptually distinct socialization processes, one into "mainstream," the other into "ghetto" culture. Regardless of the particular lifestyle the individual follows (whether upwardly-mobile, action- or routine-seeking), a great deal of implicit learning of both cultures occurs, though lack of opportunity to practice mainstream patterns, for example, may lead to a faulty inference about underlying competence. Subculture children, therefore, might be able to perform over a broader range of culturally-bound skills but be less competent in certain "mainstream" abilities than majority-culture children. Using language as an example, Shuy's work (1970) stresses the concept of "dialect-switching" as important in the speech patterns of American blacks. Even upwardly-mobile middle-class black children appear to share in NNE (Negro Nonstandard English) patterns under certain circumstances. There is little likelihood that such a stylistic range is available to white middle-class children. Regardless of the specific merit of such models, they do serve the useful function of emphasizing both the level of ghetto participation in "mainstream" culture, and the legitimacy of cultural differences.

One of the major socializing institutions of "mainstream" culture directly relevant to the present study is the school. There is a fair amount of evidence that the school as an institution is often alienated from ghetto culture. Thus, for example, Labov and Robins (1970) found that children who are rejected by the peer group in Harlem are the most likely to succeed in school. It is likely that the school, by failing to recognize the legitimacy of subcultural variation in behavioral norms and lifestyles, serves to exacerbate the conflicts of the child over those values which are shared by both cultures. The crippling conflicts to which these children are often subjected may often be consequences of misplaced emphasis by dominant institutions on cultural "singularity."

Six theorists have been selected as broadly representative of the literature, and the following summarizes their points of view.

W. Miller:
Lower-class culture is part of a working-class style of life which does not share values with middle-class culture. The culture has distinctive elements which are not simply "responses" to poverty. Poverty, however, is perpetuated by the intergenerational transmission of this culture and its values.

O. Lewis:
Lower-class culture is a style of life sharing few values with the middle-class. The elements of this culture are "pathological" in that they are no more than responses to the conditions of poverty. But these conditions are themselves perpetuated by the child's socialization into the "culture of poverty," i.e., early socialization in the family acts to transmit the culture of poverty intergenerationally.

R. Merton:
The lower-class shares fully in the values of the dominant culture, but because of reduced access to legitimate means must adjust their behavior accordingly. There are really no distinctive elements of lower-class culture that are not part of such adjustment, so that "poverty culture" is simply a continuing response to reduced means on the part of the poor.

L. Rainwater:
The poor share values with the middle-class, but have developed other more attainable norms to which they also give allegiance (the "value stretch"). The lower-class culture does not have distinctive, viable elements which are not adaptations to poverty; the perpetuation of the culture is simply due to continuing flexible responses to conditions in each generation.

H. Gans:
The poor share values with the dominant culture, but also have norms of their own--they may orient to either the

middle- or working-class in this sense. However, these cultural elements are adaptations to conditions of poverty only. The perpetuation of poverty involves both these behavioral responses to conditions in each generation and the behaviors and attitudes of members of the dominant culture which enforce the position of the poor within the total social system.

C. Valentine:
The poor (in particular the black poor) share some values with the dominant culture, are knowledgeable about "mainstream" behavior, but also have an articulated subculture which contains separate elements and distinctive behavior patterns as well. Some of these elements, for example NNE (Negro Nonstandard English) represent viable ethnic alternatives to the dominant cultural patterns that are not simply "pathogenic" responses to poverty. The conflicts between "mainstream" and "subcultural" socializing institutions, such as the school and the peer group, are the chief difficulties leading to pathological adjustment and the perpetuation of poverty through dysfunctional behavior and values. These conflicts are exacerbated by the mainstream institutions' non-acceptance of subcultural variation.

The preceding summaries are organized around three questions which seem central to the issues of poverty. These questions are:

1. To what extent do the poor share in the values and norms of the dominant culture?

2. Are there distinctive, non-pathological, creative elements in the culture of the poor which are not simply "responses" to poverty (e.g., adaptations of ethnic heritages)?

3. How can the existence of "poverty" from generation to generation be explained?

The particular answers each theorist gives to these questions have implications for the present study:

With regard to the first issue, it seems clear that the greater the extent of overlap between the values and norms of the poor and those of the dominant culture, the greater the impact expected on affective and performance measures. One might expect that families which share in dominant culture norms will be more accepted and more "accepting" of new middle-class neighbors. Further, physical improvements in surroundings might then be expected to rapidly push family process and interaction toward a more "middle-class" lifestyle, to which the family has aspired all along. On the other hand, extensive allegiance to values *not* part of the dominant cultural tradition should predict isolation, problems in community integration, less effect or even a *negative* effect on performance and affective measures for children when the family moves to a more middle-class neighborhood.

The position that there are distinctive non-pathological elements in lower-class culture argues logically for a considered attempt not to destroy these elements in any residential or school integration process. Thus, it would be important to develop measures of these elements and test the effects of housing change on them (e.g., language or specific social behaviors), as well as on mainstream behavior. The position that the culture of the poor as presently constituted is a response to the deprivational environment only, on the other hand, suggests that its elements are not important to preserve or measure. Clear predictions regarding the effects of residential integration are not derivable from these positions, as they say nothing about the "strength" of the cultural elements involved, only their underlying "meaning."

Those theorists who hold that "poverty" culture is transmitted inter-generationally must predict little immediate impact of residential or physical housing change. More middle-class neighbors will have at best a very slow and diffuse effect on child-rearing in the family, which is the central institution involved. Theorists who hold, on the other hand, that the "culture of the poor" is a continuing response to the environment should expect somewhat greater impact of environmental change on affective and cognitive measures. Those theorists who stress the importance of other institutions of the broader society (e.g., the school) in the perpetuation of poverty will make somewhat more complex predictions.

Thus, the view of the poor that one accepts considerably influences the predictions which one makes regarding the impact of the independent variables of interest. Obviously, the interpretation of evidence is also strongly affected by such orientations. As data is examined in the following chapters, these divergent views should be kept in mind.

CHAPTER ONE: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bereiter, C. and S. Englemann. Teaching the Disadvantaged Child. Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1966.

Chomsky, N. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1965.

Coleman, J.S. et al. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

Feagin, J. The Social Ties of Negroes in an Urban Environment. Unpublished thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966.

Frazier, E. The Negro Family in the United States. Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1939.

Fried, M. "Grieving for a lost home." In L. Duhl, The Urban Condition, New York, Basic Books, 1963.

Fried, M. and P. Gleicher. "Some sources of residential satisfaction in an urban slum." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 1961, 217, 93-103.

Gans, H. The Urban Villager. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1962.

Gans, H. "Culture and class in the study of poverty: an approach to anti-poverty research." In D. Moynihan, On Understanding Poverty, New York, Basic Books, 1968.

Gans, H. The Levittowners. New York, Pantheon Books, 1967.

Hannerz, U. Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community. New York, Columbia University Press, 1969.

Hess, R. Techniques for Assessing Cognitive and Social Abilities of Children and Parents in Project Headstart. Washington, D.C., U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, 1966.

Hess, R. "Social class and ethnic influences on socialization." In D. Mussen, *Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology*, New York, Wiley, 1970.

Hollingshead, A. and L. Rogler. "Attitudes toward slums and public housing in Puerto Rico." In L. Duhl, *The Urban Condition*, New York, Basic Books, 1963.

Kriesberg, L. *Mothers in Poverty*. Chicago, Illinois, Aldine, 1970.

Labov, W. "The logic of non-standard English." In F. Williams, *Language and Poverty*, Chicago, Illinois, Markham, 1970.

Lewis, O. *Five Families*. New York, Basic Books, 1959.

Lewis, O. La Vida: *A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty*. New York, Random House, 1966.

Lewis, O. "The culture of poverty." In D. Moynihan, *On Understanding Poverty*, New York, Basic Books, 1968.

Merton, R. "Continuities in the theory of social structure and anomie." In R. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1957.

Miller, W. "Lower-class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency." *Journal of Social Issues*, 1959, *14*, 57-71.

Moynihan, D. "The negro family and the case for national action." In L. Rainwater and W. Yancey, *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1967.

Rainwater, L. *Behind Ghetto Walls*. Chicago, Illinois, Aldine, 1970.

Rodman, H. "The lower-class value stretch." *Social Forces*, 1963, *42*, 205-215.

Ryan, J. "Personal identity in an urban slum." In L. Duhl, *The Urban Condition*, New York, Basic Books, 1963.

Schorr, A. Slums and Social Insecurity. Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1963.

Shuy, R. "The sociolinguists and urban language problems." In F. Williams, Language and Poverty, Chicago, Illinois, Markham, 1970.

Suttles, C. The Social Order of the Slum. Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Valentine, C. Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals. Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Valentine, C. "Deficit, difference, and bicultural models of Afro-American behavior." Harvard Educational Review, 1971, 41, 137-157.

Whyte, W. Street Corner Society. Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1947.

Wirth, L. "Urbanism as a way of life." In L. Wirth, Louis Wirth on Cities and Social Life - Selected Papers, Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1964.

CHAPTER TWO

HEALTH EFFECTS

Structural features of housing and tenant socio-economic status have long been known to be associated with the incidence of illness and disease. The following summarizes the results of several important studies concerning the effects of housing and neighborhood on health, particularly of children.

Housing density has been a key variable in explaining rates of morbidity and mortality. In her Glasgow study, Stein (1952) showed a strong association between both mortality and incidence of respiratory tuberculosis on the one hand, and overcrowded housing on the other. Size of house, overcrowding, and family size were studied by Riley (1955) in relation to eight diseases contracted by hospitalized children. The factor of overcrowding was important in relation to all the diseases (anemia, gastroenterities, bronchopheumonia, primary tubercle, lobar pheumonia, rheumatism, epilepsy, asthma) except asthma and epilepsy.

Tuberculosis infects the vast majority of its victims in childhood (Mackintosh, 1934) and is a highly communicable disease. Christensen's (1956) investigation showed hospital admission rates were twice as high from a poor residential area as compared with a higher income area. Infants in the first year of life showed a particularly high admission rate in the poor residential area. In addition, Chirstensen found groups with a low income had an increased admission rate only if their housing was also bad. These data thus suggest housing can have effects independent of its relationship to family socio-economic status.

Wilner et al. in Housing Environment and Family Life (1962) examined the effects of housing improvements on health by comparing a test group of a previously substandard housing population that had moved to new public housing, with a matched control population who continued to live in their substandard housing. For persons 35 and under the general hypotheses were confirmed; test group individuals had fewer and less severe episodes of illness and fewer days of disability than did control group members. Males under 20 years of age showed the greatest effects of improved housing and test group boys and girls aged 5-9 showed consistently lower rates of illness and days of disability. For ages 35-59 no significant differences were found between the rates of illness for the test and control groups. Of the five disease categories established by Wilner, accidents, intestinal disorders, and childhood communicative diseases were most dramatically and consistently affected by the move to improved housing.

Wambem's (1970) study of the relocation of 30 rural low income families in California from poor housing to a new public housing project showed a significant reduction in medical care utilization for the rehoused group. Differences occurred only in housing-related health categories and were linked to plumbing improvements and reductions in infestation (other than rats) through multivariate regression analysis. It is not clear that decline in out-patient visits measures improved health, but the data is consistent with that of other studies.

Pond (1957) investigated the influence of inadequate housing quality on health and found that among all types of house accidents, falls are the most frequent cause of disability or death. Well-designed housing with good light, safe stairwells, proper electrical equipment, and well ventilated gas-burning appliances, are necessary to eliminate many specific accident hazards. Wilner (1962) found that children's accidents were dramatically reduced following a move to improved housing.

Lead paint poisoning is the most common form of poisoning in children, especially under 5 years of age. Interior paints used before 1940 usually contained lead in an amount substantially greater than the level of 1 percent by weight, which is regarded as the safe limit (Tiboni, 1964; Bradley and Bessman, 1958). Bradley (1965) studied blood lead values in children of different socio-economic strata and found the mean values of the lower group exceeded by many times the mean values of the middle and upper groups. In a further illustration, the Department of Public Health in Philadelphia conducted a survey of Puerto Ricans living in an area high in lead poisoning incidents. In 87% of the dwellings surveyed, at least one location accessible to children had a hazardous concentration of lead in paint. The public health authorities found that in only about 20% of the paint detection cases were landlords willing to actively assist in the paint removal. In the other instances, permission was gained to let tenants take off the paint and repaint, but many tenants could not do this because of the time and expense involved and their lack of know-how. Thus, lead paint poisoning constitutes a health hazard specific to residents in older, poorly kept housing. Wilner (1962) found for ages 0-5 a 17% decrease in the number of episodes of accidents and poisonings between control and test groups, for ages 5-9, a 47% decrease, and for ages 10-19 a 60% decrease.

Because of the correlation between housing and income levels, it is difficult to disentangle the effects of housing per se from the effects of overall socio-economic status. In addition, there seems to be variables associated with type of residential area which affect the population's health independent of physical housing characteristics. Studies of the effects of such variables on health have been less quantitative than the studies cited up to this point, but they are important enough to be included, and bear directly on hypotheses of interest to this review.

Medical care often reflects social status and the availability of neighborhood facilities. Sudnow (1967) observed patient treatment in two hospitals located in different settings. The hospital in a lower class setting reserved certain medical practices (such as heart massages and adrenalin shots into the heart for possibly dead patients) for special groups, namely successful-looking, middle-class persons, children, and young adults. The hospital in the middle-class setting performed these treatments as a matter of routine. Medical care in the lower-class hospital deteriorated markedly if the patient's presumed "moral character" was felt to be reproachable; that is, if the hospital staff suspected that the patient was an attempted suicide, intoxicated, a dope addict, prostitute, assailant in a crime of violence, vagrant, or known wife-beater. Many patients who were dead on arrival at the hospital were used for teaching and research procedures with surgery actually performed on them. These procedures were most frequently and most intensively done on persons regarded as low-status in the "moral" structure. This is an interesting demonstration that the status of the "predominant clientele" of many institutions in our society can affect the quality of services rendered by the institution's staff. Such effects have been suggested as important with respect to the school as well.

Low participation rates of lower status persons in health care treatment has been attributed to the immediacy of other priority needs, services being inaccessible because of distance or time, services being expensive in time and money, and treatment often being unacceptable in terms of human dignity (North, 1968). It has also been shown that once facilities have been made available and accessible, children of lower income families made the same number of demands for services as children of higher income families (Robinson, 1965).

An important aspect of health care is proper nutrition. It has been found to have direct effects on the development of the central nervous system, susceptibility to infection, and, in cases of malnutrition, may affect learning by interfering with energy levels, levels of attention, and the number of school days attended (Wagner, 1968). Wilner (1962) makes a similar point regarding health effects on school attendance and performance. Wagner concludes that the "nutritional circumstances of a family can be changed by a fundamental social modification of food practices, coupled with understanding on the part of the community." In this respect, the number, quality, and availability of food stores are often associated with neighborhood variables, and may well represent another manner in which neighborhood can affect health status.

M'Gonigle (1933) studied the mortality rate between half a slum's population which had moved to public housing and the half which remained. The rehoused population showed an infant mortality rate decrease from 172 to 117.8 but an increase of 9.2% in the death rate of children 1-10 years of age. This mortality increase appeared to be a result of malnutirtion. Higher rents in the new housing had decreased the share of the households' budgets' available for food and other necessities. As such increases in proportion of income paid for rent are commonly associated with urban renewal programs (Hartman, 1964), an indirect effect of better housing may be poorer health. Such findings again point out the importance of socio-economic factors aside from housing in developmental evaluation.

The evidence suggests that improved housing can have a direct impact on certain types of disease and accident rates. A special case in point is the lead paint hazard in older and dilapidated housing. Socio-economic neighborhood effects in terms of quality and availability of services and care have also been documented in hospitals, for example. In general, the evidence for specific health effects of housing is quite sound and the causal mechanisms straight-forward. These effects can apparently be important mediators of effects on other dependent variables. M'Gonigle's study showed that new and better housing can have a beneficial impact on infant mortality, but that associated reductions of spendable income for nutrition can offset such gains. The effects on income and its allocation are important to monitor in any empirical study of housing relocation.

CHAPTER TWO: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bradley, J. and S. Bessman. "Poverty, pica, and poisoning." *Public Health Reports*, 1958, *73*, 15-28.

Bradley, J. and A. Powell. "The incidence of abnormal blood levels of lead in a metropolitan pediatric clinic." *Journal of Pediatrics*, 1956, *49*, 141-150.

Christensen, V. "Child morbidity in a good and a bad residential area." *Danish Medical Bulletin*, 1956, *3*, 93-98.

Hartman, C. "The housing of relocated families." *Journal of American Institute of Planners*, 1964, *30*, 54-59.

Mackintosh, J. "Housing and tuberculosis." *British Journal of Tuberculosis*, 1934, *28*, 67-70.

M'Gonigle, G. "Poverty, nutrition, and public health." *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 1957, 11, 677-687.

North, F. et al. "Research issues in child health." Proceedings of the Headstart Research Seminars, Seminar #4, Health and Nutrition in Early Childhood, November 1968.

Pond, M. "The influence of housing on health." *Marriage and Family Living*, 1957, *19*, 154-159.

Riley, I. "Housing conditions and children in hospitals." *Glascow Medical Journal*, 1955, *36*, 393-397.

Robinson, D. "Use of medical services and facilities by welfare-supported children." *Public Health Reports*, 1965, *80*, 44-59.

Stein, L. "A study of respiratory tuberculosis in relation to housing conditions in Edinburgh." *British Journal of Social Medicine*, 1953, *4*, 143-169.

Sudnow, D. "Dead on arrival." Transaction, 1967, 5 36-43.

Thewlis, J. "Metropolitan hospital planning conference report." Public Health Reports, 1960, 75, 87-93.

Tiboni, E. "Control of childhood lead poisoning." Public Health Reports, 1964, 79, 19-31.

Wagner, M. "Research issues in child health: some socio-anthropologic and organizational issues." Proceedings of the Headstart Research Seminars, November 1968.

Wambem, D. Some Effects of Improved Housing on Health and Educational Performance: South Dos Palos, California. University of California, Los Angeles, International Housing Productivity Study, Graduate School of Business Administration (preliminary), 1970.

Wilner, D. et al. The Housing Environment and Family Life. Baltimore, Maryland, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1962.

CHAPTER THREE

CHILDREN'S INTELLECTUAL AND ACHIEVEMENT PERFORMANCE

Intellectual and achievement performance, of all the dependent variables reviewed, is probably the most difficult to interpret in terms of social class and ethnic differences. The raw data are quite clear: social class is positively correlated with intellectual and academic achievement. The issues arise in interpreting this relationship. Intelligence tests were developed empirically by Binet as predictors of achievement in the Paris school system. They remain a useful predictive measure of school success. From such predictive validity, however, theorists progressed to asserting an underlying "construct" validity which interprets intelligence as a highly heritable measure of underlying competence. Many have questioned the middle-class, cultural bias of these tests (e.g., Eells, Davis, et al., 1951), especially when general inferences are made. It should be clear that no test developed for such predictive purposes could ever be "culture-free"; thus, to the extent that there are class or ethnic differences in "culture," these differences will be reflected in test scores. One cannot deny the utility of such measures as a predictive index of success in this society, but inferences (on the basis of these scores) to underlying competence are questionable.

In recent years, intervention programs have stimulated efforts to understand the reasons for lower-class and ethnic minorities' average lower IQ scores. A number of models have been put forward. The simplest, and most speculative, is that of Jensen (1969) who suggests that the variance is accounted for by genetic differences. On the other hand, it is well known that IQ is depressed at least 10 points by inadequate subject-examiner "rapport" (Zigler, Butterfield, 1968).

The "cultural deprivation" concepts of Hunt (1961) and Deutsch (1968) suggest that there are environmental deficits in the lower-class home and social setting, which lead to a lack of essential stiumulation for cognitive development. These factors are generally conceptualized as differences in the home and family environment. One variant of the model is based on the work of Bernstein (1962) and Hess (1970), who stress the cognitive implications of linguistic modes used by lower-class parents. However, at least in the case of ethnic subgroups, there has been a great tendency to confuse distinct dialects with deficient language when inferences regarding differences are drawn (see Labov, 1970). In fact, there is no generally agreed upon model for the explanation of class differences in these measures.

A recent study of class and ethnic influences on mental ability is found in the work of Stodolsky and Lesser (1967). In this study it was found that distinctive "patterns" of abilities were associated with each ethnic group (verbal, spatial, number and reasoning abilities were measured). The overall level of ability varied with social class, but the distinctive ethnic group patterns were constant across classes. The authors suggest that cultural-social, rather than genetic, influences are predominant in the development of these differential patterns.

With respect to school achivement, the data of Coleman (1966) showed striking differences between the performance of the black minority and the white majority, and these differences increased with age. Thus, there is consistency in the data on class and ethnic differences, but little consistency in the interpretation of these results. In considering evidence, regarding housing, neighborhood, and school effects on performance, it is essential that the "middle-class" bias of these studies and measures be kept in mind. We can measure a child's "mainstream" cultural learning--an important predictor--but not some abstract, underlying competence completely free of "cultural" bias. The SPSSI statement on race and intelligence (Journal of Social Issues, 1969) says in part: "While IQ tests do predict school achievement, we cannot demonstrate that they are accurate as measures of innate endowment. Any generalizations about ability...are limited by the nature of existing IQ tests."

A study by Keller (1953) obtained some interesting, though statistically unsophisticated data on the relationship of housing indices and students' "satisfactory progress" in school. Involving a large sample of approximately 1200 children, data were collected by parent interview. For purposes of analysis, two groups were established--those children who always showed satisfactory progress (promotion) over a five-year period, and those who did not. Both home ownership and crowding were reliably related in the expected direction to school progress, though the associations were not too large. Residential mobility was not related, although income was a predictor. No attempts at partial correlation were made, so underlying factors cannot be identified. Health effects appeared to have a strong relationship to school progress, and may have accounted for the relationship to housing indices to some extent. On the whole, these data suggest a general relationship between school progress and socio-economic status, with housing a component of the latter.

Wilner, et al. (1962) examined the effects of a move to public housing on a large sample of families. This study used a group of families on the waiting list for public housing as controls. Measures of IQ and reading and arithmetic achievement were administered approximately two years after the move for most families (as part of the regular testing program of the schools). The majority of the children tested were in grades 4-5 at follow-up. Results showed no significant differences between tests and controls as an aggregate on any of the three measures. As age group comparison was not presented, it is impossible to evaluate the reasonable hypothesis that greater change might be expected for the younger child. Wilner suggests health as the mediating variable in the promotion, and attendance differences between groups, as did Keller.

A study of significantly improved housing in rural California (Wambem, 1970) showed no effects on educational variables such as school attendance, standardized test scores (Stanford Achievement Test, California Reading and Arithmetic Tests), and grade point averages. Thirty low-income experimental group families were relocated from poor housing to a new and well-equipped public housing project of duplex structure. Measures were made prior to relocation and a year after for both experimental and control groups. Relocation did not involve changes in schools attended.

A study by Whiteman and Deutsch (1968) investigated the impact of a variety of environmental variables on reading performance and IQ for first and fifth grade students. The sample was about 50% black, evenly divided in three SES categories and included 292 children. Among the variables was an index of housing dilapidation for the census tract block in which the children resided. Of the subset of six variables which gave maximum predictive power in relation to reading achievement (housing quality of neighborhood, parental aspirations, number of children in family, dinner conversation, cultural activities, child's attendance in kindergarten), housing quality and parental educational aspirations were the best zero-order correlates of reading efficiency (r=.30). SES was not partialled out of the correlation, so it is difficult to know its effects (housing and SES showed an r=.30, also). The six variables noted were aggregated into a "cumulative deficit" index; children from families with a high deficit index tended to score lower in the 5th grade than those of comparable deficit in the 1st grade, while the reverse was true for families with small deficit indices, as shown:

GRADE DIFFERENCES ON LORGE-THORNDIKE IQ (NONVERBAL)
BY DEPRIVATION INDEX LEVELS (FIFTH GRADE)

	More Deprivation			Less Deprivation		
Grade	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N
1	100.13	15.01	91	104.14	12.54	36
5	94.31	14.64	84	109.47	16.21	78

(Interaction $p<.01$)

No such interactive effects were observed with respect to SES status independently, however.

In 1967, Wilson investigated the effects of "type" of school (by predominant social class of students' parents) on reading achievement scores. He found that, particularly for black males, school composition had a strong effect on reading scores, controlling for occupational status of the father. Such a control obviously does not eliminate various factors of self-selection in school "type" within the same occupation category, but the magnitude of these effects is quite striking. Grades (as opposed to test scores) were also evaluated in this manner and found to be strongly influenced by SES, but racial effects were not systematic.

The studies of Klineberg (1935) and Lee (1951) demonstrated the systematic effects that residential migration (in Lee's case Southern blacks moving to Philadelphia) could have on children's measured IQ. The younger the age of the child at the time of arrival, the greater the increase in his tested intelligence at each succeeding grade level. While these studies cumulate the total effects of environmental change, so that no specificity of process can be identified, they do demonstrate that environmental change (as effected by residential mobility) can have consistent effects on academically based measures such as IQ.

The Coleman Report (1966) found that the reading achievement of all ethnic-minority students was higher the larger the proportion of whites in the school. This was the only "school-related" variable making a large independent contribution to the variance. Since proportion of whites was strongly correlated with higher aspirations and better educational background, Coleman, et al., suggest that this seemingly "racial" effect may well be explained by such aspirational variables. A reanalysis of the Coleman data by McPartland (1969) further found that the benefits of desegregation for blacks (i.e., increased achievement scores) were demonstrable only if the desegregation occurred at the classroom level, and not if the integration were confined simply to the school-wide level. Thus the impact of white majority aspiration-level (if this is the real mediator) is apparently effective only in terms of limited-size group interactions. However, differences in classroom racial composition in predominantly black schools are associated with smaller increments in achievement for blacks as compared with larger achievement increments in predominantly white schools. It is very difficult to understand this classroom by school proportion interaction. One conceivable interpretation is that blacks in predominantly white schools are highly self-selected for assimilation toward white norms, and, therefore are more influenced by white classmates. If this is the case, the family background variable used for control here apparently does not tap such self-selective factors. It is impossible to clearly evaluate this hypothesis. Such data suggest also that neighborhood effects may be involved. These results demonstrate the need to look closely at smaller units of social interaction rather than only large units such as school racial proportions, when conceptualizing the effects of racial integration in the school system.

The effects of the school system on achievement interact with the variables of social class and race in a complex way. At the level of the individual teacher and her class, it is apparent that social class based expectations of performance may contribute to the self-fulfilling prophecy effect (e.g., Rosenthal, Jacobsen, 1968; Rist, 1970), and thus perpetuate and even increase such class differences in test performance as do exist. While the methodological adequacy of these studies may be questioned, the hypothesis of institutional perpetuation of class differences remains very much alive. Because of this, studies concerned with the racial and class integration of schools and neighborhoods must pay close attention to such critical process variables as teacher and community attitudes. In terms of the "biculturation" model of Valentine (1971), the problem of social stigmatization in the school becomes part of a larger conflict-generating situation in which the ghetto child's primary socialization is devalued. Such stigmatization may increase the child's sense of conflict, and lead him to see a need to "choose" between the "cultures" of school and home or street. Such processes could be a part of the explanation for the "cumulative deficit" phenomena noted by Whiteman and Deutsch (1968), and Coleman (1966)--that minority group children fall farther behind white norms as they get older.

There is no evidence in the literature to suggest that improved housing structure has an effect on children's academic abilities. Two studies, however, did suggest that more regular school attendance due to better health may mediate some improvement in school performance following moves to public housing.

CHAPTER THREE: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bernstein, B. "Social class linguistic codes and grammatical elements." Language and Speech, 1962, 5, 14-25.

Colemann, J. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

Eells, K., A. Davis, et al. Intelligence and Cultural Differences. Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1951.

Hess, R. "Social class and ethnic influence on socialization." In D. Mussen, Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology, New York, Wiley, 1970.

Hunt, J. Intelligence and Experience. New York, Ronald Press, 1961.

Jensen, A. "How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement?" Harvard Educational Review, 1969, 39, 1-123.

Keller, M. "Progress of school children in a sample of families in the eastern health district of Baltimore." Milbank Memorial Quarterly, 1953, 31, 57-71.

Klineberg, O. Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration. New York, Columbia University Press, 1935.

Labov, W. "The logic of non-standard English." In F. Williams, Language and Poverty, Chicago, Illinois, Markham, 1970.

Lee, E. "Negro intelligence and selective migration." American Sociological Review, 1951, 16, 227-233.

McPartland, J. "The relative influence of school and of classroom desegregation on academic achievement of 9th grade Negro students." Journal of Social Issues, 1969, 25, 131-149.

Rist, R. "Student social class and teacher expectations: the self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education." *Harvard Educational Review*, 1970, *40*, 441-451.

Rosenthal, R. and L. Jacobsen. *Pygmation in the Classroom*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

"SPSII statement on IQ and race." *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, 25, 31-52.

Stodolsky, S. and G. Lesser. "Learning patterns in the disadvantaged." *Harvard Educational Review*, 1967, *37*, 546-593.

Valentine, C. "Deficit, difference and bicultural models of Afro-American behavior." *Harvard Educational Review*, 1971, *41*, 137-157.

Wambem, D. *Some Effects of Improved Housing on Health and Educational Performance: South Does Palos, California*. University of California, Los Angeles, International Housing Productivity Study, Graduate School of Business Administration (preliminary), 1970.

Whiteman, M. and M. Deutsch. *Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

Wilner, D. et al. *The Housing Environment and Family Life*. Baltimore, Maryland, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1962.

Wilson, A. "Social stratification and academic achievement." In A. Passow, *Education in Depressed Areas*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1967.

Zigler, E. and E. Butterfield. "Motivational aspects of changes in IQ test performance of culturally deprived nursery school children." *Child Development*, 1968, *39*, 1-14.

CHAPTER FOUR

FEELINGS, ASPIRATIONS, AFFECTIVE STATE

Review of the literature on social class and ethnic differences in personality, aspirations, and achievement orientation discloses considerable inconsistency of results (Hess, 1970). Hess generally concludes that differences are less apparent prior to adolescence. Many studies are complicated by the extensive number of tests (which in general do not intercorrelate well) used to assess personality. A particular problem concerns the evaluative structure and the potential bias of these tests. There is somewhat more concrete evidence regarding class differences in aspiration and achievement measures, both of children and or parents for their children; and ethnic factors appear to interact as well (Rosen, 1959). For both white and black students, the Coleman Report (1966) found that level of aspiration was the best single predictor of school achivement. In terms of the independent variables of the present study, it is not impausible that neighborhood social-class and ethnic composition might have both a direct and a mediated impact on children (through effects on parental socialization practices). For example, a study by Maddy (1943) suggested that girls, particularly, tended toward personality scores close to the norms of the occupational group predominant in their neighborhood, regardless of their own fathers' occupations. Other data suggesting that residential impact may be greater on women will be discussed below. Relevant studies will be reviewed briefly. Although some do not involve housing programs explicitly, they do provide information regarding the independent variables.

A study by Chapin (1938) concerning the effects of moving into public housing in Minneapolis provided an empirical model in the older literature. Chapin measured a wide variety of variables in a pre-post design, and used other slum families "on hold" in the public housing lists as controls. Sample loss due to matching (on 10 variables) and attrition over time amounted to about 70% for each group. Although some marginal differences in morale or general adjustment were demonstrated. The study suggested very specific effects of improved structural features.

Wilner et al. (1962) are responsible for the most extensive study of the effects of public housing in this country. This study of approximately 400 families moving into a new public housing development in Baltimore was conducted over a three-year pre-post period. Controls were families remaining on public housing waiting lists during the 3-year period. Results indicated small, and generally insignificant differences on most psychological state measures. By the "late after" period (two years following the move) significant differences in optimism-pessimism, "satisfaction with personal state of affairs," and a "scale of authoritarianism" were present. Self-perception of social status rose slightly although aspirations for children did not differ from the control group. The exception was significantly higher expectations in the experimental group that children could get government jobs. The conclusions are marred by the use of a control group which included only those who did not obtain public housing during the duration of the study. They might be expected to score more poorly on measures of psychological state due to continuing frustration. In fact, where pre-test measures were available for controls, they generally showed a decline on these measures, as would be expected. Gain scores for the experimentals were not tested for significance.

A study of an experimental rent supplement program in Boston (Tilly, et al., 1968) included some measures of anxiety, pessimism, and self-perceived social status before and after the move into new privately-constructed housing. The 40 black families studies were very low-income, but through rent-supplementation were able to move anonymously into a moderate-income 221(d)(3) housing development. Compared to the before-after percentages of a group moving into low-income public housing and their own "before scores," these families showed a substantial decrease in anxiety, and some increase in optimism. No statistical evaluations are presented and the reliability of such questions is uncertain. These results do suggest that such feelings may be responsive to different types of new housing and neighborhood environments. There is also some marginally suggestive evidence presented that these families' self-identification moved slightly toward working-class and away from lower-class. These changes in percentage, however, are minute (self-identification as middle-class actually appeared to decrease). These data were responses to direct questions about "how you think of yourself."

Kriesberg's (1970) study of husbandless, low-income mothers provides some evidence regarding the effects of public housing in several types of neighborhoods. Samples from four public housing programs in Syracuse, New York, were compared to a control sample from each of their surrounding neighborhoods. One interesting result concerned mothers' feelings of the effects of child-rearing practices vs. fate on the way children develop. Variance in effects of residential location was minimal for intact families, but more extensive for husbandless mothers. These variations appeared to follow neighborhood SES lines (the surroundings of the four housing projects). The project in the lowest income neighborhood showed the lowest percentage of mothers feeling effective, although the variable of project race is confounded with neighborhood SES in these data--in fact, this project sample also contained the highest proportion of blacks. These mothers' aspiration level for amount of education desired for children decreased following one year of residence in this project. However, this change was not statistically significant, due to a limited sample size. In general, the confounded interaction of SES and rave effects on these measures preclude any explicit conclusions.

A study by Bullough (1967) involved residential variable effects on certain measures. She found that black women who moved from the ghetto to an integrated suburb showed higher "internality" as measured by the Rotter scale, than did SES-matched women who remained. Differences for husbands were not significant, however. Srole's measure of anomie or "alienation" showed a similar, but somewhat larger relationship to neighborhood. Interestingly, when the two residential groups were split at the median on integrationist vs. segregationist orientation, the non-integrationist ghetto residents were much more alienated and "external"; they were quite distinctly separate from the other three groups who did not appear to differ. Although it is obvious that self-selection factors in voluntary residential change are confounded here, the specificity of the results to certain groups (such as women) is interesting. Effects were greater at higher SES levels for both the Rotter and Srole scales.

Wilson (1959) presented a careful study of the impact of social class-related school climate on children's aspirations for college education. He studies the college aspirations of children at each SES level in three varying school types--those predominantly upper-income white collar, lower-income white collar, and manual labor, respectively. Rather strong positive correlations existed between school SES type and college aspirations as measured by questionnaire responses. Effects were strongest for lower-income white collar and skilled workers' children, but were considerably weaker for unskilled workers' children, although sample size in this category was quite small. Controlling by father's and/or mother's education did not seem to affect these relationships. Overall, the most important school effects would appear to be on upwardly-mobile families for these groups, working-class schools seem to depress college aspirations quite strongly. The very poor seemed less affected by such school variations.

The Coleman Report (1966) found that minority group children tended to have lower self-concepts, but a higher sense of environmental control as the proportion of whites in the school increased. Such data suggest some conflict for the minority child in an integrated setting. As previously noted, these attitude variables explained approximately 10% of the achievement variance--the single, most powerful effect. For all minority cultures, except Orientals, differences in the control of environmental variable explained more achievement variance than differences in self-concept, a reversal of the order of these two variables for whites.

Brief mention may be made here of the studies of dislocation through urban renewal and its effects on the feelings of the relocatees (e.g., Fried, 1963; Terreberry, 1969). These studies have explored the lingering feelings of loss, loneliness, and grief caused by neighborhood and social disruption. Fried suggests that the reactions of many residents of an urban slum to dislocation can be modelled quite precisely as grief reactions similar to those which follow the loss of a loved person. Terreberry's data on a Detroit urban renewal area corroborate these findings. While questions regarding the methodological adequacy of such survey studies can be raised, these data serve to point out the importance of factors surrounding the circumstances of forced relocation, irrespective of the qualities of the new neighborhood.

There is only scanty evidence (Wilner's study) that improved housing in a mainly structural sense affects psychological state. Neighborhood effects on anxiety, effectance, internality, and changes in educational aspirations for children were observed, but the significance level and reliability of these effects were not established. Studies on urban renewal relocatees have documented the unhappiness that forced neighborhood disruption can cause. Social ties are undoubtedly an important aspect of this disruptive structural feature, and might be involved as well.

An interesting similarity in these studies was the generally greater impact of neighborhood variables on women. This is consistent with findings regarding the reduction of prejudice in integrated housing (e.g., Works, 1961). Overall, the impact of the peer group on these variables seems an important explanatory mechanism, both for student and adult changes.

CHAPTER FOUR: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bullough, B. "Alienation in the ghetto." American Journal of Sociology, 1967, 72, 469-478.

Colemann, J. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

Chapin, F. "The effects of slum clearance and rehousing on family and community relationships in Minneapolis." American Journal of Sociology, 1938, 43, 744-763.

Fried, M. "Grieving for a lost home." In L. Duhl, The Urban Condition, New York, Basic Books, 1963.

Hess, R. "Social class and ethnic influence on socialization." In D. Mussen, Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology, New York, Wiley, 1970.

Hollingshead, A. and F. Redlich. Social Class and Mental Illness~~:~~ A Community Study. New York, Wiley, 1958.

Kriesberg, L. Mothers in Poverty. Chicago, Illinois, Aldine, 1970.

Maddy, N. "Comparison of children's personality traits, attitudes, and intelligence with parental occupation." Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1943, 27, 13-65.

Rosen, B. "Race, ethnicity, and achievement syndrome." American Sociological Review, 1959, 24, 47-60.

Tilly, C. et al. Rent Supplements in Boston. Boston, Massachusetts, Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1962.

Wilner, D. et al. The Housing Environment and Family Life. Baltimore, Maryland, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1962.

Wilson, A. "Residential segregation of social classes and aspirations of high school boys." American Sociological Review, 1959, 24, 836-845.

Works, E. "The prejudice-interaction hypothesis from the point of view of the negro minority groups." American Journal of Sociology, 1961, 67, 47-52.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES

In recent years, much attention has been given to the varied socialization practices of different social classes and ethnic groups. The influence of child rearing practices in the development of children from different class groups is not clearly understood, but attempts to explore the effects of this variable are being made. We will examine briefly, the main results of studies of class differences in child-rearing, and then turn to an investigation of the literature discussing the impact of housing and neighborhood change on these practices.

Fundamentally, two approaches to the measurement of child-rearing practices have been utilized-- (1) interview-questionnaire reports of such practices, and (2) observations of mother-child interactions in various structured situations. Problems of validity and generalizability are inherent in either approach. Therefore, cautious interpretation of the results presented below is suggested.

Interview approaches have often focussed on the dimensions of parental climate labelled "warmth-hostility" and "permissiveness-control." Work with the PARI, an interview instrument based on these two factors (Becker and Krug, 1965) has generally shown that the control variable is negatively correlated with social class, while the "hospitality" variable is unrelated to class. Hess and Shipman (1965) also report SES differences in this direction on use of imperative command for a specific socialization task (e.g., preparing the child for school). The longitudinal study at Fels (Waters and Crandall, 1964) also obtained data emphasizing the greater coerciveness of lower-class parents. These data correspond roughly to those reviewed by Bronfenbrenner (1958) who found evidence for more restriction of movement outside the home and restirction of impulse-expression in the lower-class. Hess (1970) suggests this may be due in part to greater perception of threat in lower-class neighborhoods, a factor which requires greater confinement of children at an early age. This conceptualization suggests that moving to a more secure neighborhood might reasonably be expected to reduce lower-class restriction or movement outside the home.

In addition to placing greater emphasis on control, lower-class parents seem to use physical techniques of discipline more frequently (Bronfenbrenner, 1958). Middle-class parents, on the other hand, are more likely to emphasize psychologically-oriented techniques such as shaming, withdrawal of love, and so on.

In general, observational studies have tended to confirm trends found in interview material. Several studies have investigated the interaction styles of mothers when given a specific task to teach their child (Hess and Shipman, 1965; Bee et al., 1969; Kamii and Radin, 1967). Differences in amount and character of verbalization between classes are marked, and results are generally congruent with the findings of interview method studies. It should be emphasized, however, that the artificiality of the observation situation and the undoubted class differences in reaction to such circumstances, makes the generalizability of such data problematic.

Thus, there is some evidence for class differences in child-rearing practices associated with control punishment, verbalization, and mastery behavior. There is no evidence for differences in warmth or affection, however. Also of interest here is the higher incidence of fatherless families in lower-class and notably black populations (Moynihan, 1967). It seems likely that such father-absence will affect child-rearing in at least some respects (Kriesberg, 1970). Whether such a structure is dysfunctional or not remains to be demonstrated.

The Wilner, et al. (1962) study investigated the effects of a move into public housing on such variables as the amount of time parents and children spent together. No effects on this time variable were observed. One of the few changes noted was in discipline, where mothers reported they were less inclined to scold children for certain behaviors. Differences, however, were weak and not significant.

Rainwater (1969) studied socialization in Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis, one of the best-publicized public housing developments in the country. The black families who lived in Pruitt-Igoe were able to exert little control over the behavior of their children from a very young age. Use of threat and coercion was common, though not very effective. There is some evidence to suggest that the high-rise structure of the development is one of the deisgn features involved in this lack of control of children. Mitchell (1971), in a study of Hong Kong housing, reports that residents above the ground floor, particularly those who were over-crowded, often did not know where their children were for great periods of the day. Bernstein (1968) has argued on the other hand that high density in lower-class households may increase parental control of children. He suggests that different linguistic codes or styles develop among various social classes, and that life in high density situations may predispose low-income parents to use an imperative-normative style of communication with their children. Such a style is hypothesized to have detrimental effects on the cognitive development of the child (see Hess, 1970). However, language differences between classes are by no means clearly understood or even established at present, due in part to the confusion and controversy surrounding dialect differences (see Labov, 1970), discussed previously.

The preceding studies do not provide much evidence that improved housing has an impact on child-rearing practices. If effects do occur, they are most likely related to the control variable discussed earlier. The evidence on this point is simply not adequate to warrant even tentative hypotheses.

Kriesberg (1970) reports an interesting study of the effects of surrounding neighborhood SES on public housing tenants in four Syracuse, N.Y. housing programs. He presents evidence that low-income public housing tenants are very much influenced by their surrounding low- or moderate-income neighbors and, further, that low-income husbandless mothers are more susceptible to changes in child-rearing practices than are married mothers. This was consistently observed in the data collected concerning beliefs about spanking, and the use of "reasoning" in the disciplining. Husbandless mothers were more likely to be influenced by the neighborhood than low-income married mothers.

An interesting study by Blau (1965) based on interviews with lower-class and middle-class white and black mothers, reports ethnic differences in mothers' willingness to use child-rearing patterns different from those used by their mothers. Blau observed that upwardly-mobile black mothers were less willing to change than upwardly-mobile white mothers. Non-mobile, lower-class black mothers were the least willing to change of all. While no conclusions can be drawn, some evidence based on a small sample suggests that upwardly-mobile black mothers were much more amenable to change when they lived in integrated neighborhoods than when they lived in segregated neighborhoods. Self-selection factors in choice of neighborhood may be involved here. Blacks integrating a white neighborhood in Detroit seemed quite susceptible to change in child-rearing practices (Wolf & LeBeaux, 1969). Only measures of changes over time in these practices will permit unequivocal conclusions regarding the importance of such selective factors.

In general, there is some evidence to support the hypothesis that changes in housing and neighborhood can affect the self-reported child-rearing practices of lower-class women. This evidence is not strong, but it is suggestive. There appears to be a tendency for mothers in higher SES neighborhoods to adopt less restrictive techniques for disciplining young children. Such techniques appear to be associated with children's intellectual development. For example, Bayley and Schaeffer (1964) present evidence that maternal restrictiveness is negatively correlated with children's adult IQ, controlling for social class. Some theorists have suggested that the main mediating variable in social class differences is the tendency of middle-class mothers to use more elaborated verbal codes, and to verbalize in a more appropriately paced manner when teaching the child a task. Some data in a study by Slaughter (1970) also suggest that such maternal teaching styles are predictive of children's IQ increase in a Headstart program. Whether changes in such specific behaviors as these might be expected following residential moves to a new neighborhood, is uncertain.

CHAPTER FIVE: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bayley, N. and E. Schaeffer. "Correlations of maternal and child behaviors with the development of mental abilities." Social Research Child Development Monographs, 1964, 29, 414-421.

Becker, W. and R. Krug. "The parent attitude research instrument--a research review." Child Development, 1965, 36, 329-365.

Bee, H. et al. "Social class differences in maternal teaching strategies and speech patterns." Developmental Psychology, 1964, 1, 726-734.

Bernstein, B. "Some sociological determinants of perception: an inquiry into subcultural differences." In J. Fishman, Readings in the Sociology of Language, Mouton, The Hague, 1968.

Blau, Z. "Class structure, mobility, and change in child rearing." Sociometry, 1965, 28, 210-219.

Bronfenbrenner, V. "Socialization and social class through time and space." In E. Maccoby, T. Newcomb, and E. Hartley, Readings in Social Psychology, New York, Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1958.

Gans, H. The Levittowners. New York, Pantheon Books, 1967.

Hess, R. "Social class and ethnic influence on socialization." In D. Mussen, Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology, New York, Wiley, 1970.

Hess, R. and V. Shipman. "Early experience and the socialization of cognitive modes in children." Child Development, 1965, 34, 869-886.

Kamii, C. and N. Radin. "Class differences in the socialization practices of negro mothers." Journal of Marriage and Family, 1967, 29, 302-310.

Kohn, M. and C. Schooler. "Class, occupation, and orientation." American Sociological Review, 1969, 34, 659-678.

Kriesberg, L. Mothers in Poverty. Chicago, Illinois, Aldine, 1970.

Labov, W. "The logic of non-standard English." In F. Williams, Language and Poverty, Chicago, Illinois, Markham, 1970.

McClelland, D. The Achieving Society. Princeton, New Jersey, VanNostrand, 1961.

Mitchell, R. "Some social implications of high density housing." American Sociological Review, 1971, 36, 18-29.

Moynihan, D. "The negro family and the case for national action." In L. Rainwater and W. Yancey, The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1967.

Rainwater, L. Behind Ghetto Walls. Chicago, Illinois, Aldine, 1970.

Rosen, B. "Race, ethnicity and the achievement syndrome." American Sociological Review, 1959, 24, 47-60.

Slaughter, D. "Parental potency and the achievements of inner-city black children." American Journal of Ortho-Psychology, 1970, 40, 433-440.

Waters, E. and V. Crandall. "Social class and observed maternal behavior from 1940-1960." Child Development, 1964, 35, 1021-1032.

Willmott, P. and M. Young. Family and Class in a London Suburb. London, Routledge, 1960.

Wilner, D. et al. The Housing Environment and Family Life. Baltimore, Maryland, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1962.

Wolf, E. and C. Lebeaux. Change and Renewal in an Urban Community. New York, Praeger, 1969.

Thursz, Daniel. Where are they Now? Washington, D.C., Health and Welfare Council, 1966.

Tilly, C. et al. Rent Supplements in Boston. Boston, Massachusetts, Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1968.

Willmot, P. and M. Young. Family and Class in a London Suburb. London, Routledge, 1960.

Wilner, D. et al. The Housing Environment and Family Life. Baltimore, Maryland, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1962.

Wilson, A. "Residential segregation of social class and aspirations of high school boys." American Sociological Review, 1959, 24, 836-845.

CHAPTER SIX

FORMAL AND INFORMAL GROUPS

Rossi and Blum (1968) argue that social class distinctions in values and behavior are maintained by two general factors: (1) differential exposure to mass media and eduacational experiences among social classes, and (2) differential group associations along class lines. Thus, an investigation of the literature regarding such groups and the effects of neighborhood composition and housing structure on them should be valuable to the present review. These processes are important in terms of the child's peer group as well.

With respect to informal networks, an impressive number of studies have documented the existence and importance of such ties in the lives of the urban poor (e.g., Feagin, 1966). Unfortunately, far less evidence is available regarding the impact of movement to a new social-class and-or ethnic neighborhood upon such ties. Class differences in the structure of such ties do exist. For example, lower-class individuals tend to make friendships on the basis of proximity more frequently than do the middle-class. Also, it is well established that lower-class individuals tend to be less involved with secondary groups and have less contact with the media (Rossi and Blum, 1968).

There is less definitive information regarding class and ethnic effects on the development of children's peer groups, although lower-class children are less likely to belong to formal clubs (Hess, 1970). In terms of informal groups, there is evidence that the peer group plays an important role in child development, particularly among younger children (Hartup, 1970). Gans (1969) and Hannerz (1969) argue this importance continues through adolescence. Rainwater (1969) and Maas (1950) emphasize the great number of demands made on the peer group, especially for boys, in terms of affectional dependency, social satisfaction, and so on. Such intense needs are viewed as too much for the peer group to satisfy. Consequently they lead to an emphasis on defensiveness and a very low level of solidarity in these male peer groups. Suttles (1968) data on adolescent gangs suggest that this is generally true, particularly with respect to black groups, who seem to have generally less confidence in their group's solidarity than the other ethnic groups he studied

Short and Strodtbeck's (1965) data suggest that the there are racial differences in the behavior of delinquent gangs which support a hypothesis of less separation and conflict between gang and adult culture for blacks than for lower-class whites. Such conflict would be expected to increase white peer group solidarity as well. The peer group is seen as a strong, but perhaps more legimate socializing institution for lower-class black culture (perhaps in less overt conflict with parental values) than lower-class white groups.

We now turn to investigations of the effects of the various structural, neighborhood, and school independent variables on group formation and maintaince.

The classic study of the effects of structure on social interaction is the work of Festinger and his colleagues (Festinger, et al., 1950) on married student housing units. These investigators found that the most important design factors in facilitating friendship networks were proximity and physical orientation of the housing. As these authors pointed out, this was a relatively homogeneous group of individuals, and, thus, such design features may have assumed greater importance than they would in a more diverse community. Indeed, Gans (1961) argues persuasively that except in such homogeneous populations as these, homogeneity is the real basis for friendship selection, and that it strongly overrides the influence of any design feature. The main possible function of such design features, Gans argues, is the initiation of social contact, not the development of friendship ties.

Several studies have concerned themselves with an analysis of the effects of public housing residency and/or relocation from urban renewal areas on social variables. These studies generally focus on changes in housing structure rather than neighborhood composition.

In their study regarding the effects of a move to public housing in Baltimore, Wilner, et al. (1962) included a set of measures designed to investigate "neighboring." There was some evidence, after three years, of an increase in specific neighboring behaviors within the residents' building as compared to a control group remaining is sub-standard housing. The impact seemed mainly confined to women's daytime social interactions, however, and had no effect on the evening visiting behavior of the families. With respect to media contact or formal organizations, the residents were more likely to have "taken a class" than were the controls, but were less likely to read the newspaper. Children were less likely to participate in formal clubs than those in the co control group. Overall, the most substantial effects seemed the increase in specific helping behaviors such as reciprocal child-care, grocery borrowing, and so on.

In a study of relocatees in Washington, D.C., Thursz (1966) found some increase in formal groups membership (11% to 29% reporting belonging to one or more) after a five-year period. There seemed few changes in friendship networks; about one-quarter of the sample reported they had not made a single new friend over the five years. These families also showed a generally limited knowledge of the services available in their area, although it should be noted that families relocated into public housing seemed generally more knowledgeable and more involved than those who did not move. It should be noted that most relocatees probably experienced little change in neighborhood social class composition.

Chapin's (1938) study of public housing, although it had serious problems of attrition (70%), demonstrated some marginal effects with respect to organizational participation. Nevertheless, these effects seemed easily explainable simply on the basis of increased physical proximity to the particular organization studied. Kriesberg (1970), like Wilner, found that movement into public housing projects in Syracuse, N.Y. was likely to increase women's mutual aid behaviors, such as exchange of babysitting.

Recently there has been a revival of interest in the variable of density or over-crowding, and its effects on social life. In a recent paper on over-crowding in Hong Kong housing, Mitchell (1971) has examined the effect of high densities on social relationships, child-rearing, and psychological stress. Controlling for parent education, he found significant tendencies for apaprtment "doubling up" to be associated with (1) lowered rates of social visiting, and (2) lower likelihood that parents will follow their children's whereabouts closely. Such overcrowding as is observed in Hong Kong (ten persons per room is not uncommon) may represent a qualitatively different situation from the range of over-crowding in dwelling units in this country. Glazer's (1967) review suggests that crowding is a minimally important explanatory variable under present conditions in the U.S.

All in all, it appears that there is little evidence that housing structure per se has a major influence on social relationships, although as Gans (1961) points out, it may affect the initiation of relationships. There does appear to be some suggestion that the specific neighboring behaviors of women especially are influenced by a move to public housing. It is probably reasonable to view such a move as resulting in increased homogeneity of neighborhood with respect to class and family life style.

Evidence for effects on lower-class families of more middle-class neighbors comes from several sources. Investigations of "planned communities", common in this country in the 1940's, indicated that after a brief initial period of social mixing, class-based friendships and associations tended to re-establish themselves (Form, 1951). Studies of stable smaller communities such as Elmtown (Hollingshead, 1949) had documented a high degree of stratification and the pervasive effects of class on peer group formation within school culture. Gans' (1969) recent study of a suburban town also indicates that class-based friendship and association networks are a prominent factor in a relatively heterogeneous residential community. The data of Willmott and Young (1960) and that of Gans, in addition to documenting class stratification, both suggest that suburbanization in the working class may act somewhat to diminish the influence of the male peer group, and increase the amount of family-centered activity for men. One might reasonably expect this to be true with regard to the adolescent peer group as well, and Gans notes that suburbanization may be a particular problem for adolescents for this reason. These data suggest that class-based lines of cleavage, such as Rossi and Blum (1968) discuss, are a prominent feature of small rural and suburban communities, as well as the city.

With regard to housing programs which effect some class integration, we have only bits of evidence. A recent thesis by Feagin (1966) examines the effects of movement into different types of housing for approximately 80 black families in Boston. Scores on several socializing scales were obtained at four different times (once prior to, and three times at varying periods up to a year after the move). One group of low-income families moved into a newly constructed rent-supplement project with predominantly moderate-income residents, while another comparable income group moved into public housing. Strikingly different trends on a simple scale of "neighboring" behavior (by self-report) were observed for these two groups. Neighboring scores for the rent-subsidy group were rising in their new home and exceeded their previous baseline, while neighboring fell in public housing, and stayed down even a year after the move. Contacts with friends, another scale, showed similar patterns, as did associational participation. One factor complicating interpretation of some of these scales is the fact that public housing was much farther from the old neighborhood that the rent-supplement units, however.

In a further analysis of these families, Tilly, _et al._ (1968) examined their involvement in voluntary associations and contact with the media. These data indicated that the rent-supplement group of low-income families had higher scores of these measures both before and after their move than the public housing group. Such data suggest that this group may have been initially somewhat different from the public housing group, although no differences are reported. Such a group might be more readily influenced by moderate-income neighbors if we assume they are more upwardly mobile.

A recent article based on extremely small sample interviewing in a mixed-class housing development near Boston (Boeschenstein, 1971) suggests that some friendship networks include both low and moderate income families, though the high income tenants appeared not to be involved with other groups at all. The sample sizes (6-8 in each group) seriously limit the power of these data, however. Large differences in class definitions of territoriality were reported with the lower income group being by far the most geographically limited in their conceptions of "home territory."

Comparing adolescent peer groups in ten high schools, Coleman (1961) found that family social status was a predictor of membership in the "leading crowd" in middle-class dominated schools. This was not true in working-class schools. In general, it was found that the "leading crowd" of a school tended to contain students whose family background characteristics accentuated those of the dominant social class in the school. Social class background also had a stronger impact on girls' peer groups than boys', a finding which seems well established at all ages (Hartup, 1970). Social class did not have as strong an effect as other factors, however, in high school group formation.

A study by Rhodes, et al. (1965) indicated that neighborhood social-class segregation has some effect on the observed .50 correlation of high school friends' SES. About one-third of this correlation was attributable to such structural effects, and are thus presumably modifiable through residential change.

Race and ethnicity are powerful factors influencing social group formation. Suttles' (1968) study, for example, of a mixed ethnic residential area of Chicago demonstrated that ethnicity had a generally more powerful effect than residential location on the formation of adolescent street-corner gangs. Most ethnic "anomalies" in membership were upwardly mobile, interestingly, in the sense of an individual joining a higher status ethnic group's gang than his own.

These findings are hardly startling. In a society which ascribes such significance to race, one could hardly expect it to be an indifferent factor in group formation. It is important to note, of course, that residential integration can lead to the development of some inter-ethnic relationships, (see Jahoda and West, 1951). This evidence, together with data mentioned previously on public housing, suggests that friendship ties in such developments may cross racial lines because of the increased homogeneity on other variables of these populations (income, life-cycle stage, and so on).

There is evidence that peers are important for adolescent college aspirations (Campbell and Alexander, 1965). The mediating mechanism for the effects of white classroom peers on black student achievement found by Coleman et al. (1966) may well be a similar reference group phenomenon, as noted in Chapter III, though this is uncertain. The evidence presented by McPartland (1969) that this improved achievement is found only with desegregation at the classroom level lends weight to this interpretation.

We have concentrated on evidence regarding the formation of peer group networks. It appears that class and ethnicity impose serious barriers to such group formation. Within a mixed-class or ethnic group, however, the evidence is fairly clear that dominant class or ethnic group members are more popular (morland, 1966), and such groups appear to be dominated by middle-class values (Hartup, 1970). These data apply to children, but there is also evidence for such dominance effects in mixed-racial work groups with adults (Katz and Cohen, 1962). These effects would seem to foster the dissemination of middle-class values in such mixed groups.

One thoroughly investigated area of peer influences is concerned with college aspirations in adolescents. Wilson (1959) found school climate to have a strong impact on this variable, and Campbell and Alexander (1965) showed that college aspirations were completely mediated by peer influences, controlling for parents' background. However, Haller and Butterworth (1960) found that peer influences on college aspirations were strongest for upper-moderate and upper-lower-class peer "pairs", and were not effective for moderate-lower class pairs -- the most common cross class pairing for the lower-class students. This finding somewhat weakens the case for peer effects at the end of the spectrum of interest in this review. Wilson's data also suggests such a differential effect, although the data of Campbell and Alexander do not. A recent reanalysis and synthesis of these data (Duncan, et al., 1968), using path analytic techniques, suggests the effect of friend's SES on college aspirations is about .15.

The problem of peer group and adult cross-pressures on the child, particularly in the lower-class milieu, deserves mention. The findings of Labov (1970) have been mentioned previously: leadership status in lower-class black peer groups is negatively correlated with school achievement. This suggests that some peer-school conflict exists for these children. Many authors (e.g., Douvan and Adelson, 1966) suggest that adult-peer conflict has been over-stated in the literature on adolescence, and that for the middle-class adolescent at least, there is little evidence for such strong conflict. It is commonly believed that peer influences are more important in lower-class populations, but some recent data comparing a lower-class urban high school sample with a middle-class group for peer influence on plans for college attendance, actually demonstrate only slightly greater cross-pressures for lower-class high school students than for middle-class students (Kandel and Lesser, 1969). This study found the impact of maternal aspirations more important than peer influences for both classes. There was only a modest tendency toward more concordance between the adolescent, his friend, and his mother in the middle-class rather than the lower-class (66% to 54%). These data thus suggest that for a "lower-class urban group", as the authors describe their sample, cross-pressures on the issue of college attendance are not strikingly greater than to middle-class children. Whether such findings are valid with respect to other values and populations depends upon further empirical investigation.

The studies reviewed permit only the sketchiest of interpretations regarding peer group and friendship network effects. Social class and racial differences present boundaries to the formation of such networks, which may be overcome only under rather specialized conditions of homogeneity on other factors (Gans, 1961). These effects are important in the formation of children's and adolescents' peer groups, particularly for girls, but may not be as strong as they are for the adult community.

Design features of housing seem likely to have only slight effects on long-term social relationships, although one study suggested very high density may have an impact.

Given a more middle-class peer group for the child, there is a moderate degree of evidence that the aspirations toward college of lower-class children may be altered, altough the effects of such relationships may be weakest for the lower-class. It does appear that parental factors make a strong impact on this variable as well, even in the lower-class. We have little data on values other than college attendance.

Where greater adult participation in middle-class social groups has been observed following a neighborhood change, the possibilities of selection bias are hard to discount (as in Tilly, et al., 1968). The importance of such a bias is, of course, dependent upon what group of families one is interested in affecting programmatically. Certainly there is no evidence to date that such moves in themselves have affected major changes in reference groups. On the other hand, little longitudinal data has been collected which is addressed to this question. Overall, we must still conclude with Gans (1961) that residential impact on socializing groups is likely to be weak. Effects in more inter-actively programmed settings such as the school may be somewhat stronger, as the data on college aspirations suggest.

CHAPTER SIX: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boeschenstein, W. "Design of socially mixed housing." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 1971, 37, 311-318.

Calhoun, J. "Population density and social pathology." Scientific American, 1962, 206, 139-146.

Campbell, E. and N. Alexander. "Structural effects and interpersonal relationships." American Journal of Sociology, 1965, 71, 285-289.

Chapin, F. "The effects of slum clearance and rehousing on family and community relationships in Minneapolis." American Journal of Sociology, 1938, 43, 744-763.

Coleman, J. The Adolescent Society. Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1961.

Coleman, J. et al. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C., U.S. National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1966.

Douvan, E. and J. Adelson. The Adolescent Experience. New York, Wiley, 1966.

Duncan, D. et al. "Peer influences on aspirations: a reinterpretation." American Journal of Sociology, 1968, 74, 119-137.

Feagin, J. The Social Ties of Negroes in an Urban Environment. Unpublished thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966.

Festinger, L., S. Schachter, and K. Back. Social Pressures in Informal Groups. Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1950.

Form, W. "Stratification in low and middle income housing areas." Journal of Social Issues, 1951, 7, 109.

Gans, H. "Planning and social life: friendship and neighbor relations in suburban communities." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 1961, *27*, 134-140.

Gans, H. *The Urban Villagers*. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1962.

Gans, H. *The Levittowners*. New York, Pantheon Books, 1967.

Glazer, N. "Housing policy and the family." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1967, *29*, 140-163.

Haller, A. and C. Butterworth. "Peer influences on levels of occupational and educational aspirations." *Social Forces*, 1960, *38*, 289-295.

Hannerz, U. *Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1969.

Hartup, W. "Peer interaction and social organization." In D. Mussen, *Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology*, New York, Wiley, 1969.

Hess, R. "Social and ethnic influences on socialization." In D. Mussen, *Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology*, New York, Wiley, 1969.

Hollingshead, A. *Elmtown's Youth*. New York, Wiley, 1949.

Hollingshead, A. and L. Rogler. "Attitudes toward slums and public housing in Puerto Rico." In L. Duhl, *The Urban Condition,* New York, Basic Books, 1963.

Jahoda, M. and P. West. "Race relations in public housing." *Journal of Social Issues*, 1951, *1*, 132-139.

Kandel, D. and G. Lesser. "Parental and peer influences on educational plans of adolescents." *American Sociological Review*, 1969, *34*, 213-223.

Katz, I. and M. Cohen. "The effects of training negroes upon cooperative problem solving in biracial teams." Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 1962, 64, 319-325.

Kriesberg, L. Mothers in Poverty. Chicago, Illinois, Aldine, 1970.

Labov, W. "The logic of non-standard English." In F. Williams, Language and Poverty. Chicago, Illinois, Markham, 1970.

Maas, H. "Some social class differences in the family systems and group relations of pre- and early adolescents." Child Development, 1951, 22, 145-152.

McPartland, J. "The relative influence of school and of classroom desegregation on academic achievement of 9th grade negro students." Journal of Sociological Issues, 1969, 25, 93-102.

Mitchell, R. "Some social implications of high density housing." American Sociological Review, 1971, 36, 18-29.

Morland, J. "A comparison of race awareness in northern and southern children." American Journal of Ortho-Psychiatry, 1966, 36, 22-31.

Rainwater, L. Behind Ghetto Walls. Chicago, Illinois, Aldine, 1969.

Rhodes, A. et al. "Occupational segregation in a metropolitan school system." American Journal of Sociology, 1965, 70, 682-694.

Rossi, P.H. and D. Blum. "Class, status, and poverty." In D. Moynihan, On Understanding Poverty, New York, Basic Books, 1968.

Short, J. and F. Strodtbeck. Group Process and Gang Delinquency. Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Suttles, C. The Social Order of the Slum. Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1968.

CHAPTER SEVEN

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY RESEARCH

A great deal of older research dealt with the problem of relating housing and neighborhood to the incidence of juvenile delinquency. Early conceptions stressed urban ecological and demographic variables (e.g., Shaw and McKay, 1942). Data was analyzed using a correlation approach, based on aggregate statistical data for census tracts. As a method of hypothesis testing, such an approach is subject to several pitfalls. First, such methods ignore the cultural context of class and ethnic subgroup differences, and so are therefore conducive to misleading inferences based upon incomplete understandings of such differences. Thus, for example, Miller (1958) argues that delinquency is simply an aspect of the values and norms of lower-class culture itself, and criticizes other theorists' biases in propounding special"delinquent conflict" subcultures which are reactions to middle-class status deprivations (such as Merton, 1957).

Merton argues that delinquency is the result of lower-class aspirations to middle-class goals, without access to legitimate means to obtain such goals. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) stress the differential resolution of this situation, depending upon whether or not illegal role models are readily accessible. This is discussed later at greater length.

A second, more methodological criticism of the delinquency literature is based upon the fact that the social control institutions of our society are not free of class and ethnic bias. The effects of such bias in police and court records has led to an attempt to develop self-report and/or observational techniques which could overcome this problem and arrive at an "unbiased" assessment of class and ethnic factors in juvenile delinquency.

In a large scale study involving approximately 3,000 high school boys and girls, primarily in small town settings, Nye, Short and Olson (1958) found that anonymous self-reports of types and incidence of delinquent acts showed no relationship to social class. Other studies have confirmed this result. More recent research suggests, however, that an SES relationship does hold in larger urban settings only (Clark and Werninger, 1962). At any rate, it is clear that the adequacy of the data base in many of the older studies is open to serious question, presuming one wishes to view delinquency as an "objective" phenomenon, distinct from incidence of arrest.

As noted, the theory of anomie stressed the differential access to legitimate means for various SES and ethnic subgroups as a generating factor in delinquency. The work of Sutherland and Cohen, and implicitly that of Miller (1958), emphasized differential access to illegitimate means for these subgroups. These differing emphases imply quite different views of the relation of lower-class norms and values to that of the dominant culture, as discussed in the introduction of this literature review. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) attempted to integrate these positions (at the level of the group) by suggesting that differential access to legitimate means was a predisposing factor toward delinquency, but that two polar types of delinquency areas were related to the ends of the "access to illegitimate means" continuum. Thus, in areas with weak criminal learning structures, low integration of conventional and criminal values and low social control, delinquent behavior involves expressive conflict patterns (high incidence of physical aggression, etc). In areas where these factors are reversed, delinquent behavior should be rational and disciplined.

Some empirical support for this model expressed above has been adduced (Short, Rivera, Tennyson, 1965). In the Chicago area where this research was carried out, however, there appeared to be a generally low degree of integration between adolescent groups with tendencies toward criminal values and those with conventional values. This degree of integration was even lower for black than for white gangs, and so the finding of greater conflict-oriented behavior in black gang members was consistent with the hypothesis discussed above. The theory seems to suggest a conceptual basis for the understanding of class and ethnic relationships to delinquency at a social-structural level. These relationships do *not* hold on an individual personality level, however, as Short, et al. (1965) discovered; that is, variations in perceived opportunity variables are not major determinants of *individual* behavior within the gang context. The results of Clark and Wenninger (1962) noted previously, and those of Reiss and Rhodes (1961), suggest that such analyses are pertinent to metropolitan areas only, as class and ethnic factors seem to show little in other settings. With this conceptual framework in mind, we turn to a view of housing and neighborhood effects, bearing in mind some of the serious methodological issues already raised for much of the data base.

Work by Barer (1945) calculated average delinquency risk per child for 317 families in public housing in New Haven, during "before" and "after" periods. The data, decline in risk (as compared to the total city-wide rate) following the move into public housing. It is, of course, impossible to specify what factors may have been involved in such a rate change.

Most of the older studies did not apply regression or partial correlational techniques in assessing census tract data. A study by Lander (1954) did, however, and produced some controversial results. On the basis of a multiple regression of seven factors on juvenile delinquency rates for 155 census tracts in Baltimore, the only two factors emerging with significant weightings were (1) percentages of nonwhites and (2) percentage of homes owner-occupied. The second factor appeared to be a good deal more powerful than the first. Education, overcrowding, home quality, and foreign-born were not significant predictors. On the basis of these results, and a factor analysis, Lander argued that juvenile delinquency and its two predictors were measures of a unitary anomic factor, which was *independent* of the SES factor indexed by the housing quality and education variables. His interpretation suggested that delinquency is closely associated with disorganization or normlessness, as measured by a low proportion of owned homes, and high proportion of black residents. Such results would be consistent with the analysis of Merton (1957) that a perception of lack of "legitimate" means (power in the social structure) is conducive to delinquency.

Lander's interpretation of his results has been challenged by Chilton (1964), who replicated Lander's analysis of Baltimore data, and also did comparable analyses for Detroit and Indianapolis. Three important variables of an extended set of eight emerged from the regression data for Detroit and Indianapolis--overcrowding, area mobility, and proportion of unrelated individuals. Proportion of owner-occupied dwellings also appeared to have some explanatory power, as in the Baltimore study, but proportion of nonwhite was not related. Chilton argues that it is impossible to conceptualize this extended set of factors as anomic in any meaningful fashion. A strong SES-loaded factor appeared in a factor analysis, which loaded quite heavily on delinquency as well. Chilton further notes that the obvious difficulty with this type of research is the problem of operationalizing variables such as anomie in a pattern of post-hoc statistical relationships. It is still worth noting that "percent of unrelated individuals" is such a strong factor. This suggests an anomic variable of importance. However, it appears that SES-related variables (such as overcrowding) can make independent contributions as well. The reasons for variance among cities in this effect are uncertain.

Some studies have attempted to proceed in a more *a priori* manner in investigating delinquency. As previously noted, the work of Clark and Wenninger (1962) indicated, using a technique of self-report, that within four area types (industrial city, lower urban, upper urban, and rural farm) social class was related to delinquency rates only in the industrial city. This finding suggested to the authors that only in larger cities is there an excess of lower-class delinquents over the population rate. As Chilton's analysis suggested, there may be variations even among larger cities in the strength of this effect. Further, this lower-class excess apparently does not occur in areas which are predominantly middle- or upper-class. These data resemble the results of Reiss and Rhodes (1961), who found that lower-class children in predominantly middle- or higher-income schools showed a delinquency rate lower than that of the predominant class. These studies also suggest that middle-class children (by father's occupation) residing in lower-class areas tend to show rates of self-reported delinquency identical to their lower-class peers (this can be inferred from the lack of a social class effect in the lower-class urban area). Race is not controlled in these studies. It is also unclear how selective factors of population migration might be involved--for example, lower-class families in middle-class settings may be a highly self-selected population.

There is considerable evidence that alienation from school is a strong correlate of delinquency (Gold, 1969). In a study of ADC families, Palmore and Hammond (1964) found that school failure was the best predictor of delinquency for this population--stronger than family or neighborhood "deviance," defined somewhat ambiguously in the text as "grossly deviant from societal norms." For black children, family deviance and school failure interacted to produce very high rates of delinquency arrests when both factors were present; the same effect was observed for neighborhoods. In children who were not failing in school, however, neither family deviance nor neighborhood deviance was an important factor. Family deviance was unimportant for white children's delinquency rate as well, though neighborhood deviance did have the same interactive impact with school failure for white boys. Noting the neighborhood effects on school failures, and recalling Labov's finding (1970) that black lower-class children who fail in school are often peer-group leaders, one might hypothesize that peers may be relatively influential in this effect for both races. Peer influences may be stronger for blacks, however, and this may explain the somewhat stronger effect of neighborhood and family deviance on blacks which Palmore and Hammond reported.

Other racial differences in the structure and behavior of gangs have been noted by Short, Tennyson and Howard (1963), who found evidence of greater "protest" orientation in white gangs (offenses which seemed directed at authority, such as auto theft, public nuisance, and running away from home). They also found evidence of greater conflict in blacks--a factor loading on group fighting, carrying concealed weapons, and assault. In an extensive observational study of a mixed ethnic Chicago neighborhood, Suttles (1968) found similar differences between black and Italian gangs. Black gangs showed a generally lower degree of solidarity on several types of questions. These results regarding conflict are consistent with Cloward and Ohlin's predictions, if we assume reasonably that both legitimate and illegitimate economic opportunities are more limited for blacks. The greater "authority protest" of white groups may be related to their greater perception of adult power (Short, Rivera, Tennyson, 1965), and yet unwillingness to help. Blacks in this study perceived adults as more willing to help, but less powerful in the social system.

Regardless of the specific explanatory mechanisms involved, there do appear to be some interesting data emerging from these observational and self-report based studies. It appears likely that different types of delinquent gangs exist, and that these differ in racial or ethnic composition. Particularly with respect to blacks, the school and the peer group appear to vie clearly for the allegiance of the child.

The older studies in this area, analyzed through correlational techniques, were methodologically weak. Such an approach did not lead to much explanatory power. Public housing appeared to have a positive effect on the incidence of delinquency arrests, but the mechanisms were unclear. The issue of SES and racial bias in social control institutions also limits the interpretation of these data. Using self-report techniques, it does appear that SES composition of the neighborhood has an effect on delinquency. Lower class rates are not excessive in middle- or upper-class neighborhoods. (Delinquency is related to SES of family only in larger cities.) This finding suggests the peer-group as a transmission mechanism. Racial effects in gang types have also been noted. In general, blacks are less protest-oriented (against adults) than are lower-class whites; black gangs tend to show less internal solidarity.

School failure is highly correlated with delinquency; data on the specific effects of school composition were not found, however.

At the social-structural level, the theory of differential access to both illegitimate and legitimate means, proposed by Cloward and Ohlin (1960) provides a useful theoretical model. It is well to conclude this section by recalling that the definition of delinquency is necessarily arbitrary. A significant type of delinquent not discussed in detail here, but currently on the rise in American society, is the suburban runaway. Middle- and upper-class children are over-represented in this sample (Shellow, et al., 1967). Gans (1969) points out that usburbanization may be particularly stressful for the adolescent because of his greater isolation for the peer group. Perhaps such runaways reflect the costs of this process.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barer, N. "Delinquency before and after admission to a New Haven housing development." Journal of Housing, 1945, 3, 45-67.

Chilton, R. "Continuity of delinquency area research: a comparison of studies for Baltimore, Detroit, and Indianapolis." American Sociological Review, 1964, 29, 71-83.

Clark, J. and E. Wenninger. "Social economic class and area as correlates of illegal behavior among juveniles." American Sociological Review, 1962, 27, 826-834.

Cloward, R. and L. Ohlin. Delinquency and Opportunity. New York, The Free Press, 1960.

Cohen, A. Delinquent Boys. New York, The Free Press, 1955.

Gans, H. The Levittowners. New York, Pantheon Books, 1967.

Gold, M. "Juvenile delinquency as a symptom of alienation." Journal of Social Issues, 1969, 29, 119-135.

Labov, W. "The logic of non-standard English." In F. Williams, Language and Poverty, Chicago, Illinois, Markham, 1970.

Lander, B. Towards and Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency. New York, Columbia University Press, 1954.

Merton, R. "Continuities in the theory of social structure and anomie." Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1957.

Miller, W. "Lower class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency." Journal of Social Issues, 1958, 14, 5-19.

Nye, F., J. Short and V. Olson. "Socioeconomic status and delinquent behavior." *American Journal of Sociology*, 1958, *63*, 381-389.

Palmore, E. and P. Hammond. "Interacting factors in juvenile delinquency." *American Sociological Review*, 1964, *29*, 848-854.

Reiss, A. and A. Rhodes. "The distribution of juvenile delinquency in the social class structure." *American Sociological Review*, 1961, *26*, 720-732.

Shellow, R. et al. "Suburban runaways of the 1960's." Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1967, *5*.

Short, J. et al. "Perceived opportunities, gang memberships, and delinquency." *American Sociological Review*, 1965, *60*, 56-67.

Short, J. et al. "Behavior dimensions of gang delinquency." *American Sociological Review*, 1963, *28*, 411-428.

Suttles, G. *The Social Order of the Slum*. Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1968.

CONCLUSIONS

In this review, it is clear that the limited programmatic scope of housing intervention studied to date and the methodological weaknesses of most of the empirical work reviewed make definitive conclusions impossible.

With few exceptions, the empirical work was based on studies of the public housing program in this country established by the Housing Act of 1937. Widespread dissatisfaction with this program in the late 1950's and early 1960's led to the passage of more innovative housing legilsation in recent years. Some of these newer programs provide explicitly for socio-economic integration within the housing program itself, for home ownership, and for scattered site housing for the poor. These newer programs are more germane to the interests of the present study than the relatively homogeneous, older low-income public housing programs. Unfortunately there have been no comprehensive evaluations of the impact of these newer programs on the families and children of the poor.

Available studies indicate that public housing as it was constituted in the 1940's and 1950's seemed to have only marginal impact on the families and children of the poor. Until the newer programs are evaluated systematically, the effects of housing programs on child development must remain an open question.

In light of this situation, this literature survey includes studies of neighborhood and school effects on families not necessarily involved in housing programs. The results of these studies may not be directly applicable to the housing program population, but such a review seemed useful in generating ideas regarding testable hypotheses.

The methodological weakness of many existing studies also contributes toward the problem of inference. The most serious limitation, of course, is the necessity of utilizing ex post facto designs, which invariably confound selection factors with program effects. Existing statistical techniques (e.g., covariate control), while inadequate, have seldom been applied in these studies, though matching on some background factors has usually been attempted. Further, techniques such as significance testing or measures of association which would help in interpretation of effects, have often not been utilized. Also, a summary evaluations in this field have not given attention to the possibility that impact may be greater for specific sub-populations of the group studied (e.g., younger children, more severely deprived families, and so on). Clearly, the use of such inadequate methodology makes it inadvisable to draw any generaly conclusions regarding the impact of housing programs on children.

On balance, it must be said that current evidence regarding the impact of housing programs on the lives of the poor is not very useful and quite unclear. There is a need for more rigorous methodology in the field; there is also a need for comprehensive evaluation of the newer, more innovative programs that have only recently been initiated. If we are to make intelligent policy decisions regarding the directions innovations should take in the future, more careful and comprehensive work on these newer programs is a necessity.

The principal value of this review appears to lie not so much in its resolution of issues as in the light it sheds on the most promising directions to follow. On the evidence, the variables of health status and peer-group composition look like candidates for mediators of change. These two variables showed some evidence of change due to residential mobility into new neighborhoods. In turn, there was the suggestion that changes in health status and in peer-group composition could affect children's cognitive and affective development, their school progress, and social and behavioral outcome measures such as juvenile delinquency indicators. Thus, changes in these two hypothesized mediating variables should be monitored with care in any future investigation of housing programs.

Peer-group effects are particularly interesting in the light of the theoretical discussions of "bi-culturation" or dual socialization in ethnic minority sub-cultures. Conflict in values and norms between the peer-group and mainstream institutions (such as the school) appear likely to be a central issue in these children's socialization. Careful attention to sub-culture conflicts and their behaviroal outcomes should be incorporated into any empirical investigation of housing and residential change.

It is useful to review the theoretical issues raised in Chapter 1 in light of the subsequent review of empirical results. With regard to the question of how distinctive the norms and values of lower-class culture are, the evidence suggests tentatively that many are flexible and responsive to a new environment, contrary to the "culture of poverty" notion. Particularly in the school setting, there is repeated evidence that children's aspiration level changes in a more middle-class direction following exposure to new peers. Some evidence for neighborhood effects on self-reported child-rearing practices and juvenile delinquency was also adduced. When such changes occur following residential or school moves, it seems reasonable to infer that the associated norms in question were not distinct from those of the middle-class, except in the sense that they were adaptations to a particular behavioral environment, and could thus be flexibly readapted to a new environment without serious conflict.

Whether or not these particular areas of "adaptation" were causally related to the conditions of poverty is an entirely distinct issue. Similarly, the question of whether such effects are direct or are mediated by the intervention of the broader social system (e.g., teachers' negative reactions to lower-class linguistic style) is a difficult one, and the empirical results discussed in the present review can do little to illuminate it. The issue has obvious value implications regarding the "viability" of whatever distinctive lower-class sub-culture exists.

Thus, there is at least some tentative evidence in the present review that the "culture of poverty" is not the sole basis for any perpetuation of the poor's status. Evidence regarding the role of dominant culture institutions such as the school and the legal system in this connection was noted. As the bi-culturation model suggests, the reactions of these mainstream institutions to the poor are likely to play a critical role in the perpetuation of poverty as well.